

St. Joseph's Indian Normal School,
1888-1896

by
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The story of St. Joseph's Indian Normal School at Rensselaer, Indiana, demonstrates two conflicts that have often marked America's history, a racial one, between Indian and white, and a religious one, largely between Protestant and Catholic. The racial conflict, which up to 1870 produced much military strife, thereafter began to take on a strongly cultural dimension as the government sought forcibly to assimilate the remaining Indians into white society. To the racial conflict was added immediately a religious one when the government through President Ulysses S. Grant's Peace Policy of 1870 invited churchmen to assist in carrying out the assimilation program. The Indian agencies and therefore the Indians themselves were turned over to various mission societies who established schools with government support to "civilize" the Indians. Although the Indian agencies reverted to political control by 1882, the schools which had been founded were continued, some as government schools, still often operated by missionaries, others as "contract" schools, both Protestant and Catholic, where the government provided a per pupil subsidy for church owned schools through annually renewable contracts.¹

Catholics initially opposed the new church-state partnership which emerged after 1870, especially after they learned that they had been allotted only eight out of the eighty Indian agencies. By virtue of prior mission activity, which was supposed to have served as the basis for the distribution, Catholics claimed forty such agencies.² They therefore regarded the Peace Policy as a scheme by Protestants to proselytize Catholic Indians with government support. In 1874 the Catholics organized in Washington, D.C., the Bureau of

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¹ Evelyn C. Adams, *American Indian Education* (New York, 1946), 47-54. For more background information see also Henry E. Fritz, *The Movement for Indian Assimilation, 1860-1890* (Philadelphia, 1963), 34-86.

² Peter J. Rahill, *The Catholic Indian Missions and Grant's Peace Policy, 1870-1884* (Washington, D. C., 1953), 76.



ST. JOSEPH'S INDIAN NORMAL SCHOOL, 1888-1889

DIRECTLY BEHIND THE MAIN BUILDING (EAST) ARE THE ICEHOUSE
AND TO THE EXTREME RIGHT THE MANUAL TRAINING SHOP

Courtesy Harry Shindelar, Rensselaer.

Catholic Indian Missions to help secure the right of their missionaries to continue to serve their missions even if they were located within Protestant agencies.³ In the matter of education, they came to prefer contract schools, not only because they could then retain Catholic teachers in them but also because they could be located more freely.

After 1883 the Catholic bureau began greatly to expand its school activities under its energetic new director, Joseph A. Stephan, a priest from the diocese of Fort Wayne, Indiana.⁴ With generous support from Katharine Drexel, a wealthy Philadelphia banking heiress who provided funds for building schools,⁵ and the willingness of Catholic religious orders to staff the schools, Stephan succeeded in a few years in virtually monopolizing contract school funds. Beginning with \$39,175 for eighteen schools in 1883, he pushed the annual subsidy up to \$394,756 for sixty of them in 1892,⁶ the latter figure approximating two thirds of all the contract money applied to Indian mission schools in that year.⁷ The emergence of an organized Catholic Indian school "system" coincided, however, with a demand among Protestants that federal support of all mission schools be abolished in favor of a uniform system of government schools.⁸ Thus almost from inception St.

³ William H. Ketcham, "Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions," *Catholic Encyclopedia* (15 vols., New York, 1907-1912), VII, 745-47. Ketcham was director of the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions from 1901 to 1921. As regards contract schools it should be noted that religious indoctrination, "the injection of a spiritual dynamic into the process of civilizing the Indians, to be provided by the Christian religion," was an intended although "nonofficial" government policy at this time. R. Pierce Beaver, *Church, State, and the American Indians* (St. Louis, 1966), 134.

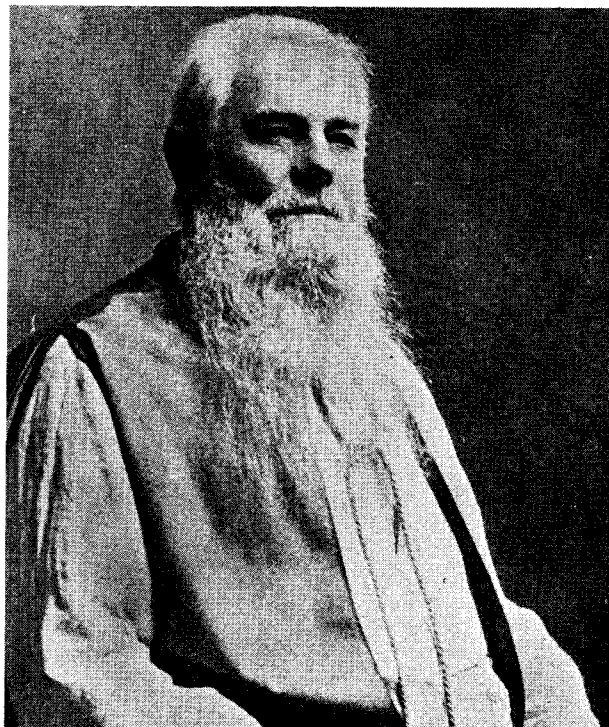
⁴ There is no known biography of Joseph A. Stephan. The best summary of his activities in the Rensselaer area appears in Edwin G. Kaiser, *The Story of St. Augustine's from Pioneer Days* (Carthagen, Ohio, 1958), 16-19. This work is a history of the Catholic church in Rensselaer.

⁵ Consuela Marie Duffy, *Katharine Drexel: A Biography* (Philadelphia, 1966), 79. Katharine Drexel is referred to as Mother Katharine Drexel after 1891 when she founded the Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament for Indians and Colored People.

⁶ Ketcham, "Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions," 745.

⁷ *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs* (1892), U. S., House Executive Document No. 1, Part 5, 52 Cong., 2 Sess., 1892-1893 (serial 3088), 56.

⁸ A strongly anti-Catholic organization founded in 1887 and called the American Protective Association brought the matter of contract schools into politics, made much of the huge sums of money garnered by the Catholic schools, and thereby got the Protestant mission societies to oppose "overwhelmingly" the principle of contract schools. Beaver, *Church, State, and the American Indians*, 165. Objections against contract schools were that they were basically unconstitutional, were more sectarian than educational, were too difficult to supervise, and were productive of "a



THE RIGHT REVEREND MONSIGNOR JOSEPH A. STEPHAN (PICTURE TAKEN AFTER 1895)



MOTHER KATHARINE DREXEL (PICTURE TAKEN AFTER 1889)

Courtesy Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament,
Cornwells Heights, Pennsylvania.

Joseph's Indian Normal at Rensselaer, one of the sixty schools under Stephan's jurisdiction, and others like it faced not only the herculean task of trying to educate what frequently turned out to be unwilling pupils but also found themselves threatened with loss of financial support.

From the outset St. Joseph's Indian Normal at Rensselaer had, or at least was intended to have, a very special status. Several Indian schools, notably the Carlisle Indian School at Carlisle, Pennsylvania, had already been established in the East to provide more advanced training for promising Indian pupils from the reservations. To prevent Catholic Indian children from being drawn to such schools as well as to train Catholic Indian teachers of his own, Stephan decided on a similar institution. His ambitious plans are revealed in an informative letter to Drexel in December, 1887:

Since returning from Philadelphia, I have carefully considered the subject of a central normal Indian school I have talked with Father [George] Willard and got his ideas. I have also talked with Secretary [Lucius Q. C.] Lamar, the acting Com. of Ind. Affairs and several other Gov. officers and Senators. They all advise me to go on. Some of them say that it is the only thing to be done! In conversation with Mr. [John H.] Oberly, who was formerly Superint. of Indian instruction, is now a civil service Commissioner, and who has the entire confidence of the President, I learnt that Mr. [Grover] Cleveland is taking great interest in the problem of Indian education. He even wishes to extend the civil service rules to the examination of teachers in the Indian Government schools and wishes to establish a normal school for teachers. Knowing our needs and the opinion of sensible men, in a position to judge correctly, I am firmly convinced that this is the best thing we can do. It must be done well and commenced at once, if we want to succeed and monopolize it. —This is very important! I wish to have it better than Carlisle. I would only take our best and oldest scholars out of our schools already in operation and train them to be teachers, farmers and mechanics to be employed by the Govt. on salary and also in our own schools. —I do not wish to entrust this work to others, therefore I think it best to keep it in my own hands and send Father Willard to attend to it, which he will gladly do, as he told me. He understands the business and promised to do as I direct.⁹

good deal of jealousy." *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs* (1892), 56-57.

⁹ Joseph Stephan to Katharine Drexel, December 8, 1887. Photocopies or originals of all the unpublished documents cited in this paper are located in the Archives of Saint Joseph's College, Rensselaer, Indiana. The unpublished materials were originally taken from six archival sources: Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, National Archives, Washington, D. C.; Archives of the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions, Washington, D. C.; Archives of the Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament,

That Stephan chose Rensselaer for his special school was determined largely by his earlier acquaintance with this town and its environs. Before the Civil War he had surveyed and purchased land for German Catholic immigrants, and from 1868 to 1870 he was director of the newly established diocesan orphanage located just south of Rensselaer.¹⁰ The orphanage was closed in 1887, and early in the following year the bishop of Fort Wayne, Joseph Dwenger, disposed of the property. What had been the orphanage farm was divided along an old mud road, the present U. S. Highway 231. The 300 acres that lay to the west of the road were donated to the newly planned Saint Joseph's College, and the 420 acres that lay to the east were sold to the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions for \$9,600.¹¹

Stephan had originally intended to purchase the entire orphanage farm and merely convert its old frame buildings, all of which stood west of the road, into an Indian school, but the bishop's plan for a college led him to build an entirely new plant.¹² The main building of the Indian school was made of brick; it was somewhat over eighty feet square and arranged in four wings around an open interior court that measured a little over thirty feet square. The building was designed to house up to 100 boys and included quarters for the superintendent, two or three teachers, and six to eight Sisters. There were twenty-nine rooms in all.¹³ A government

Cornwells Heights, Pennsylvania; Archives of St. Charles Seminary, Carthage, Ohio; Archives of Saint Joseph's College, Rensselaer, Indiana; and Archives of St. Vincent's Archabbey, Latrobe, Pennsylvania.

The Reverend George Willard was vicar general under Bishop Martin Marty in Yankton, Dakota Territory, in 1886; was with the Catholic bureau in Washington, D. C., in 1887; and as Stephan's assistant, supervised the construction and served as first superintendent of the Indian school in Rensselaer in 1888. He was already in poor health at this time, was recalled to Washington in 1889, and died in Banning, California, July 24, 1890.

¹⁰ Kaiser, *The Story of St. Augustine's from Pioneer Days*, 16-19.

¹¹ *Deeds*, XLVIII, 85 (Recorder's Office, Rensselaer, Jasper County, Indiana).

¹² Stephan to Katharine Drexel, December 14, 1887. Saint Joseph's College was chartered in 1889 and began operations in 1891. It was built on the site of the diocesan orphanage. The Society of the Precious Blood undertook the responsibility of operating the school. It was a junior college whose primary purpose was to prepare Catholic boys for entry into theological seminaries. In 1936, however, it expanded into a senior college. In 1951 it established a branch in East Chicago which is now called Saint Joseph's Calumet College.

¹³ E. B. Reynolds, inspector, to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, November 7, 1892. Outwardly the school looked very much as it does



St. Joseph's Indian Normal School

ST. JOSEPH'S INDIAN NORMAL SCHOOL BUILDING AS IT APPEARS TODAY
(DREXEL HALL, STUDENT RESIDENCE, ST. JOSEPH'S COLLEGE)

inspector's report gives some idea of the interior arrangement:

First, the basement, with kitchen, three dining halls, store room, bakery, creamery, washroom, and what they term play ball for boys.

First story, is the infirmary, the tailoring department and ten private rooms.

Second story, is the chapel, three recitation rooms, one study hall and four private rooms.

Third story is the dormitory, which occupies the entire three wings of the building [the east wing does not include a third story], and all connected in one room, with 44 beds in sight.¹⁴

Other buildings were soon added. A tall icehouse with two cellars was set up directly behind the main school building. Somewhat farther away a two story frame building, twenty-five by sixty-four feet, was constructed. On the second floor of this structure were quarters for the industrial teachers and employees, and the ground floor provided facilities for carpentering and shoemaking.¹⁵ A large barn, corncribs, pigpens, a chicken coop (which the Indian students helped build), a wagon shed, and a blacksmith shop were soon added. The entire plant—farm, buildings, and furnishings—were estimated to have cost \$50,000.¹⁶ All was paid for by Miss Drexel.¹⁷

Father George Willard, Stephan's assistant, had charge of the Indian school for only a few weeks when Stephan decided that he needed him in Washington. Despite Stephan's earlier intention to keep the school under his own personal supervision, he turned it over to the Society of the Precious

today, except that a little bell tower and the window shutters have been removed and the center court made smaller to allow for an extra tier of rooms for the Saint Joseph's College students who now occupy it.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ James A. Cooper, special agent, to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, March 13, 1890, copy.

¹⁶ Stephan to William B. Allison, chairman of the United States Senate Committee on Appropriations, June 23, 1890, copy. Documents designated as copies are contemporary transcriptions made by secretaries or clerks.

¹⁷ B. Florian Hahn, superintendent of St. Joseph's Indian Normal School, to Stephan. This report was probably made at the close of the first school year, 1888-1889. There are seven extant annual reports from the Rensselaer school; the first two were sent to Stephan and the next five directly to the commissioner of Indian Affairs. The information in these reports is neither altogether consistent nor complete. The first two reports are merely extended letters. The next five list the number of pupils, employees, amount of government subsidy, and the amount of crops harvested.

Blood, which managed and staffed the school from January, 1889, until its close in the spring or summer of 1896.¹⁸ Three priests of the Society served as superintendents of the school, B. Florian Hahn, 1889-1890 and 1893-1894; Andrew Gietl, 1890-1893; and Francis Schalk, 1894-1896.¹⁹ The names of most of the other people connected with the Indian school have apparently been lost. In the beginning Willard was assisted by several laymen, unmarried young men who came from the East to engage in this work.²⁰ When the Society of the Precious Blood took charge, the laymen were at least partially replaced by lay brothers of the Society. Eventually the school's staff came to consist of a superintendent (always a priest), two teachers (one a seminarian, but later a younger priest, and the other a lay brother), and four or five other lay brothers who served as teachers of industrial arts or just workers on the farm. Six to eight Franciscan Sisters of the Sacred Heart from Joliet, Illinois, had charge of the kitchen, laundry, house cleaning, and the infirmary.²¹

Although the land and school remained the property of the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions, which paid the taxes on the farm and the insurance,²² the Society of the Precious Blood had to make ends meet from the two principal sources of income, the government contracts and the produce of the farm. The contracts with the government, which were re-

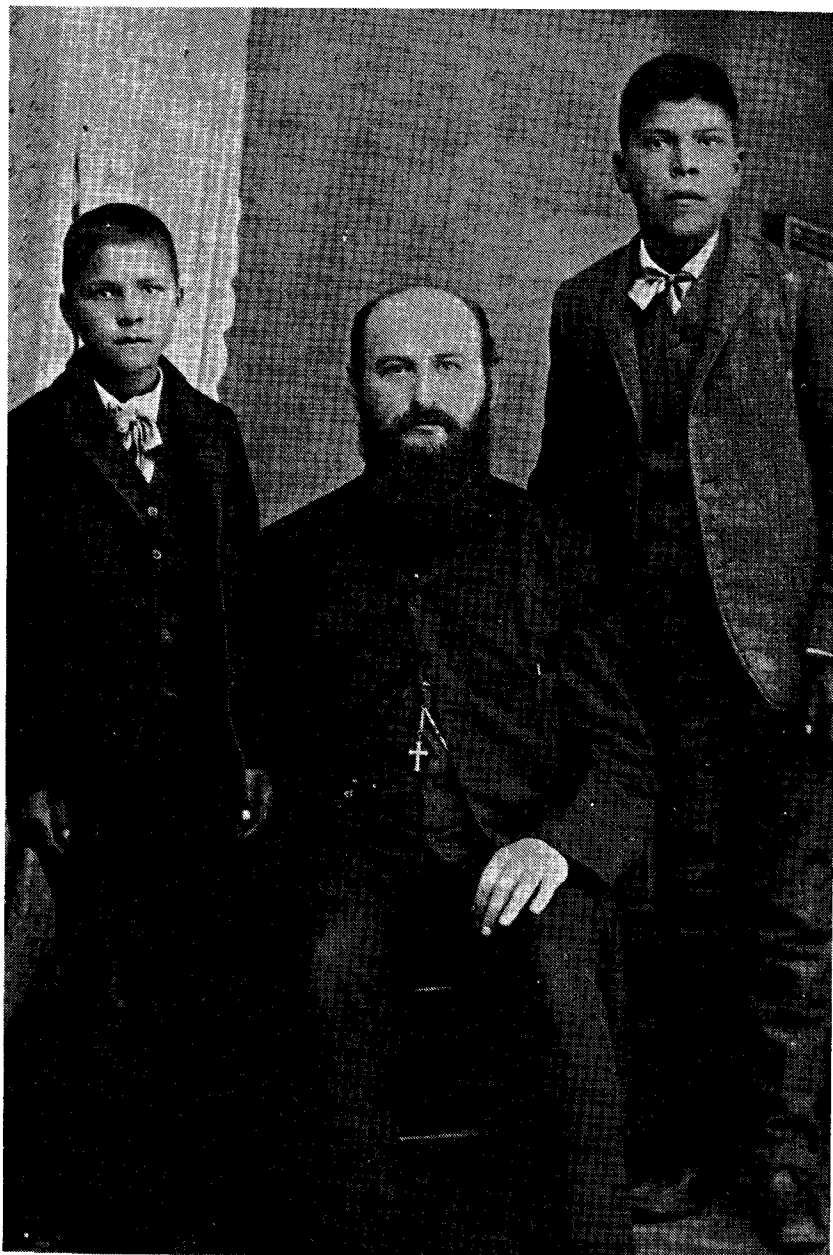
¹⁸ The Society of the Precious Blood is a religious community of priests and lay brothers founded in Rome, Italy, in 1815. A Swiss branch of this society came to the United States in 1844. Its central house since 1860 has been St. Charles Seminary, Carthagen, Ohio. It is interesting to observe a bit of ecclesiastical politics here. Stephan and especially Drexel had expected and actually invited the Benedictines of Latrobe, Pennsylvania, to take charge of the Indian school at Rensselaer, but that would have made the Benedictines and the Society of the Precious Blood at Saint Joseph's College next door neighbors. Bishop Joseph Dwenger, who had earlier been a member of the Society of the Precious Blood, resolutely refused even after repeated urgings to let the Benedictines take charge of the school even though the Society of the Precious Blood had up to this point absolutely no experience in the Indian apostolate, a point not overlooked by Drexel. Joseph Dwenger to Martin Marty, December 19, 1888; Katharine Drexel to Andrew Hintenach, abbot of St. Vincent Monastery, Latrobe, Pennsylvania, January 12, 1889. Bishop Marty, a Benedictine from St. Meinrad's, Indiana, had general supervision over the Catholic missions in the Dakota Territory at the time.

¹⁹ The superintendent at St. Joseph's Indian Normal at any given time must be ascertained from the reports and letters sent from the school. This list does not include possible interim appointees.

²⁰ Henry Drees to George Willard, October 15, 1888.

²¹ B. Florian Hahn to Stephan, report, June, 1889.

²² Andrew Gietl to Stephan, January 19, 1891.



THE REVEREND FRANCIS SCHALK WITH TWO OF HIS PUPILS

Courtesy Archives of St. Charles Seminary, Carthagena, Ohio



THE REVEREND ANDREW GIETL

Courtesy Archives of St. Charles Seminary,
Carthage, Ohio



THE REVEREND B. FLORIAN HAHN

Reproduced from the *Indian Sentinel*, II (January, 1917), 39.

newed on a yearly basis, allowed the school a maximum of \$6,250 a year (or \$125 per pupil for a maximum of fifty pupils) for the first two years and a maximum of \$8,330 a year (or \$138.84 per pupil for a maximum of sixty pupils) for the next five years.²³ To qualify for payment the superintendent at the Indian school had to submit quarterly reports in which he stated the average school attendance. If the attendance fell below the contract number, the payment was correspondingly reduced. Thus in actuality St. Joseph's did not always receive the full subsidy.²⁴ The remainder of the income was supposed to come from the farm, which, according to the reports of the superintendents, generally grossed around \$3,000 a year.²⁵ The school's bills were not itemized in the reports to the commissioner of Indian Affairs, but they doubtlessly included foods not produced on the farm, medical expenses, and replacement of such items as books, paper, tools, playing equipment, and occasional gifts. Fuel consisted of wood from the farm which the Indians were detailed to cut

²³ Stephan to B. Florian Hahn, July 19, 1890.

²⁴ Payments actually made by the government to St. Joseph's were as follows:

1888-1889:	\$5,859.34	for an average enrollment of	47.
1889-1890:	5,110.72	" " "	" 43.
1890-1891:	8,330.00	" " "	" 63.
1891-1892:	8,330.00	" " "	" 62.
1892-1893:	8,330.00	" " "	" 60.
1893-1894:	7,802.89	" " "	" 55.
1894-1895:	7,445.85	" " "	" 54.

For the first two years see *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs* (1889), U. S., *House Executive Document* No. 1, Part 5, 51 Cong., 1 Sess., 1889-1890 (serial 2725), 390; (1890), U. S. *House Executive Document* No. 1, Part 5, 51 Cong., 2 Sess., 1890-1891 (serial 2841), xvii. For the remainder see reports from St. Joseph's to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, viz., Andrew Gietl, June 30, 1891, July 1, 1892, and July 13, 1893; B. Florian Hahn, 1894; and Francis Schalk, June 30, 1895. Discrepancies between the per pupil rate and the total subsidy can be explained by the fact that the year was divided and payment was made quarterly; thus, because of dropouts during the year the exact number enrolled (here listed as "average") would have to be stated in fractions.

²⁵ For example, Andrew Gietl's report for the year 1892-1893 states that the total cost of operating the school was \$12,000, \$3,000 of which went for salaries and \$9,000 for all other expenses. Contributions from the government were \$8,330, and income from "other parties" was \$3,670. The latter presumably represented mainly the income from the farm. The farm that year produced 730 bushels of wheat, 1,500 bushels of corn, 1,000 bushels of oats, 200 bushels of potatoes, 100 bushels of turnips, 10 bushels of onions, 10 bushels of beans, 15 bushels of fruit, 400 bushels of melons, 90 tons of hay, 10 pounds of butter per week, 40 pounds of honey, plus cabbage, beets, etc. Livestock consisted of 12 horses, 60 cattle, 40 pigs, and 200 domestic fowl. Acres cultivated were 300. Cost of repairs to the buildings was \$300. Report of Andrew Gietl to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, July 13, 1893.

and haul to the school as one of their daily chores. Much of the labor at the school was actually performed by the Indians themselves as part of their training program. Even the majority of the clothing and shoes were manufactured at the school. This was also true of some of the wooden furniture, including desks and benches. The beds were made of iron and equipped with springs and had mattresses filled with straw.²⁶ The cost of repairs and improvements varied greatly from year to year, anywhere from \$120 to \$1,500.

A considerable expense item was transportation costs for the Indians in attendance. Receipts for all official travel involved in bringing the Indians to the school and in returning them to the reservation after their schooling was finished, including expenses for in-between trips for a serious cause, were collected and sent to Washington for the government to reimburse the school. In practice, however, the government was circumspect in this matter and one year disallowed over half of the travel expenses.²⁷ Added to this were unofficial travel expenses incurred in retrieving runaways or paying for the return of Indians who found a means of getting home for a summer vacation but did not have the wherewithal to return to school in the fall.²⁸

The total recompense to the staff varied from \$2,000 to \$5,000 per year.²⁹ About \$1,300 per year was paid to seven Sisters; thus, something like \$2,000 was left to cover the services of the superintendent, two teachers, and five or six additional employees (chiefly lay brothers). During the first two years Hahn complained that the school was in such bad financial straits that neither he nor many of his employees were able to take any income at all.³⁰ That he was not exag-

²⁶ C. W. Goodman, supervisor of education, district 1, to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, January 4, 1893.

²⁷ Andrew Gietl to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, February, 1892, copy. From this letter in which Gietl complains that the government allowed him only \$263.72 out of a total of \$790.15 in recruitment travel expenses for 1892 one can also appreciate the complexity of travel and transportation. Apparently vouchers and subvouchers had to be presented for escorts, translators, buggy rental, boat, streetcars, and train fare.

²⁸ B. Florian Hahn to George Willard, May 26, 1889.

²⁹ Reports of Andrew Gietl to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, June 30, 1891; July 1, 1892; and July 13, 1893; report of B. Florian Hahn to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1894; report of Francis Schalk to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, June 30, 1895.

³⁰ Report of B. Florian Hahn to Stephan, August 12, 1890.

gerating is verified by the fact that in the fall of 1890, just after the government subsidy was increased by \$2,000 a year, Stephan advanced the school \$2,000 to relieve it of current financial embarrassment.³¹ Even then the subsidy that St. Joseph's Indian Normal received from the government was still lower than the \$150 allowed per pupil to other contract schools in the East.³²

The tribes predominantly represented at St. Joseph's were Potawatomi from Michigan, Menominee from Wisconsin, Sioux (Dakota) from South Dakota, and Chippewa from northern Wisconsin, Minnesota, and North Dakota.³³ The first year began with an enrollment of fifty, and this increased until a maximum of seventy-four was reached in September, 1892.³⁴ Superintendents soon learned that it would be wise to begin each year with a higher number of enrollees than the contract called for because of the inevitable loss caused by those who had to be sent home. The distribution among the tribes likewise varied from year to year. In the first year the largest contingent from any single tribe was the Menominee; whereas, in the year 1894-1895 over half the Indians were Chippewa.³⁵ It is easy to surmise why these particular tribes were well represented. Stephan had formerly worked in the areas where they lived, especially in the Dakota Territory where he had served as Indian agent in 1878.³⁶ He was not only familiar with these Indians but also with the missionaries, Jesuits, Benedictines, and Franciscans, on whom

³¹ Stephan to Andrew Gietl, December 2, 1890.

³² *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs* (1894), U. S., *House Executive Document* No. 1, Part 5, 53 Cong., 3 Sess., 1894-1895 (serial 3306), 16-18. The discrepancy in the amount of subsidy allowed St. Joseph's as compared to other Indian schools lies in the fact that the subsidy amounts for certain schools were written into the annual Indian Appropriation Act. This is clear from a letter of Stephan to William B. Allison, chairman of the United States Senate Committee on Appropriations, June 23, 1890, copy. In this letter Stephan gives arguments as to why St. Joseph's should be paid more. He asked for \$150 per pupil but received only \$138.

³³ The tribal distribution is reported three times: in report of B. Florian Hahn to Stephan, June, 1889; in James A. Cooper, special agent, to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, March 13, 1890, copy; and in Francis Schalk to Daniel M. Browning, commissioner of Indian Affairs, December 31, 1894.

³⁴ Report of Andrew Gietl to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, July 13, 1893.

³⁵ See footnote 33.

³⁶ Rahill, *The Catholic Indian Missions and Grant's Peace Policy, 1870-1884*, 204.

he had to depend to convince the Indians of the desirability of sending their children to a school so far away from home.

It was not a simple matter to take Indian pupils off the reservations. Legal formalities had to be observed. First of all, the Office of Indian Affairs in Washington had to grant permission to recruit.³⁷ Then permission from the parents of the boys—girls were not enrolled at St. Joseph's—often from the mother, had to be obtained.³⁸ Indian family ties were very close. The primary argument used to persuade families to send their boys to school was that education would give them more prestige and a better life than their elders had. But any form of threat or coercion was strictly prohibited.³⁹ After the parents' permission had been obtained, a descriptive statement of each pupil had to be made and signed by the local Indian agent and a physician stating that everything was in order. There was keen competition for Indian pupils between the Catholics and the representatives of the Protestant and government schools. This sometimes led to bitter charges and countercharges of illegalities, use of coercion in some form, or corruption of officials.⁴⁰ Although a few of St. Joseph's students were still non-Christian, most were already baptized Catholics.⁴¹

There seems to have been no consistent method of collecting pupils. In the first year Stephan, despite serious illness, visited the reservations himself and had several of the mis-

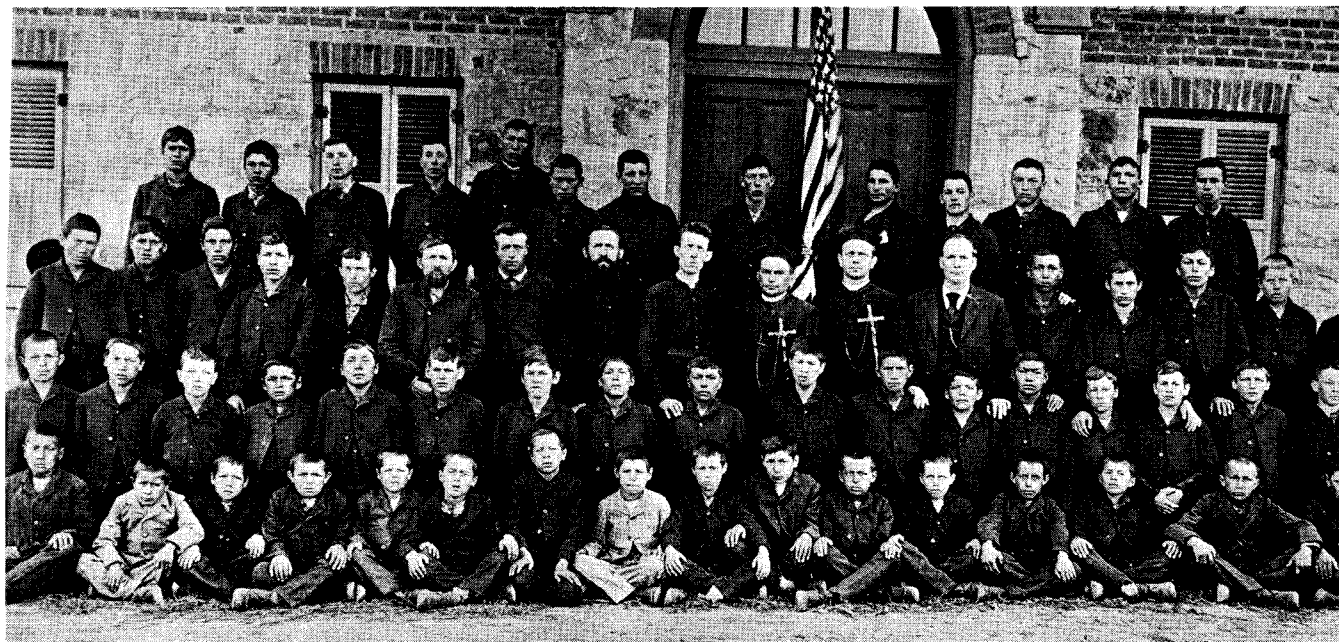
³⁷ H. L. Muldrow, first assistant secretary of the Interior Department, to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, August 10, 1888.

³⁸ "The father was not consulted. Indian customs made the grandfather and the mother the responsible head of the family." George Heldmann, "History of St. Joseph's Indian Normal School of Rensselaer, Indiana," *The Messenger*, XVII (August, 1911), 300. Heldmann knew Andrew Gietl well, and this article is in the nature of reminiscences. It appeared in four brief installments in *The Messenger* in August, 250; September, 262-66; October, 301-303; and November, 341-45. *The Messenger* was a monthly publication of the Society of the Precious Blood published at Rensselaer from 1894 to 1922 and at Carthagenia, Ohio, from 1922 to 1968.

³⁹ Daniel M. Browning to Stephan, September 3, 1895.

⁴⁰ Charles S. Kelsey, Indian agent, Green Bay, Wisconsin, to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, September 2, 1891.

⁴¹ Church records for St. Joseph's Indian Normal are preserved at St. Augustine Catholic Church in Rensselaer. Nine Indians were baptized at the Indian school, the first being Ernest Neope Oshkosh, eighteen years old, son of a Menominee chief. Three lads were buried in the local Catholic cemetery. There is no record of any serious epidemic. Only three boys were sent home for serious ailments, but seven were sent home at one time alone for homesickness! *Rensselaer Republican*, September 17, 1891.



ST. JOSEPH'S INDIAN SCHOOL PUPILS, 1892-1893

IDENTIFIABLE IN THE PICTURE ARE, FROM LEFT TO RIGHT BEGINNING WITH MAN IN FULL BEARD: BROTHER WENCESLAUS ZENKER, SHOEMAKER; BROTHER FABIAN REES, TAILOR; THE REVEREND ANDREW GIETL, SUPERINTENDENT; THE REVEREND FRED BAUMGARTNER, TEACHER; BROTHER SYLVESTER HINEN, TEACHER

Courtesy Archives of St. Joseph's College, Rensselaer.

sionaries escort students back to Rensselaer.⁴² In subsequent years this arduous task was undertaken by the superintendent of St. Joseph's or by one of the teachers.⁴³ It was an unforgettable experience for these men, who had to rent horses and wagons, wade through rivers and swamps, and find their way through forests and over roadless wastelands to reach the reservations. There was also the apprehension over what kind of reception might be accorded them by the government agent or the Indians themselves. The friendliness of the Indians could be just as disconcerting as their hostility, especially if the recruiter was required to "enjoy" their cooking.⁴⁴ The normal recruitment month was August, although this was often preceded by correspondence with the local missionaries so that the agent of the school might know what to expect. Hahn had a folder printed for this purpose which advertized what St. Joseph's had to offer.⁴⁵ Additional pupils were occasionally added during the school term to keep the enrollment at its contract level; in that case some missionary brought the Indians to the school.⁴⁶ Trouble was far from over once the recruiter began his journey back to Rensselaer. Often the Indians had to be given new clothes and then fed and entertained to keep them willing to continue the trip. "Some of the Indian boys, overcome with homesickness, would watch their opportunity and leave the train at some station and hurry back on foot to the reservation; others would cut capers as running along the top of the seats in the car, etc."⁴⁷

The Indian pupils varied greatly not only in tribal origin but also in racial makeup and age. Because of an accusation

⁴² Stephan to Katharine Drexel, August 10, 1888.

⁴³ B. Florian Hahn to Stephan, July 10, 1890.

⁴⁴ B. Florian Hahn to *Nuntius Aulac*, I (January, 1890), 31. *Nuntius Aulac* was a German language periodical published from 1890 to 1895 in Carthagen, Ohio, chiefly for the benefit of the members of the Society of the Precious Blood.

⁴⁵ B. Florian Hahn to Stephan, July 10, 1890.

⁴⁶ In 1893 Superintendent Gietl gave the number of all who had "been crowded in at any one time during the year" as 130. Report of Andrew Gietl to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, July 13, 1893. Even if this figure had meant to include all those who had *at some time or other* been in the school that year, it would have reflected an extraordinarily high number of dropouts and replacements. Since there is no reference to such a high figure elsewhere, it may well be an error. There were two motives to keep the school filled, first, to make full benefit of the government subsidy and, second, to prevent pupils from being taken "to Carlisle or some other Protestant school." Andrew Gietl to Stephan, January 12, 1891.

⁴⁷ Heldmann, "History of St. Joseph's Indian Normal School of Rensselaer, Indiana," 300.

that St. Joseph's was educating some white pupils at government expense, the superintendent at Rensselaer was required in 1894 to submit a report that listed pupils by race. Out of a total of sixty-seven students, eighteen were listed as full blooded Indian, twenty-four as half Indian, fourteen as one quarter Indian, and eleven as one eighth Indian.⁴⁸ The age level of the Indians became progressively lower each year. In the first year twelve of the fifty pupils ranged from eighteen to twenty-one, with one twenty-four years old.⁴⁹ This reflected Stephan's original plan to recruit only "older scholars." The presence of older students made a striking impression on Hahn when he took over the school in March, 1889, for he observed that "most of them are grown-ups up to twenty-four years of age, wearing finger-rings and watch chains."⁵⁰ After the first year pupils over eighteen were no longer admitted. Enrolling older pupils involved the school in an endless hassle with the government, which kept threatening to refuse subsidy for St. Joseph's because the Indians were beyond the normal age limit of eighteen,⁵¹ and Hahn was opposed to older pupils because he found them difficult to handle. Once he even suggested sending them all home.⁵² By the year 1894-1895 all pupils were in the legal six to eighteen bracket while over half of them ranged from eleven to fourteen years of age.⁵³

What kind of education did the Indians receive at St. Joseph's? The objective of the school was not only to train the Indian pupils to be teachers, farmers, and mechanics but to transform them into white men as well. This dual plan involved not only teaching them the three "R's" and a trade but also the white man's religion, civic loyalties, and many other qualities deemed necessary to achieve a successful transition from "savagery" to "civilization." The academic training was similar in content and method to that which prevailed

⁴⁸ Francis Schalk to Daniel M. Browning, December 31, 1894. The degree of Indian blood was indicated on the descriptive statement received by the school from the reservation. One example listing four Indians from Turtle Mountain Reservation, North Dakota, is dated April 23, 1894.

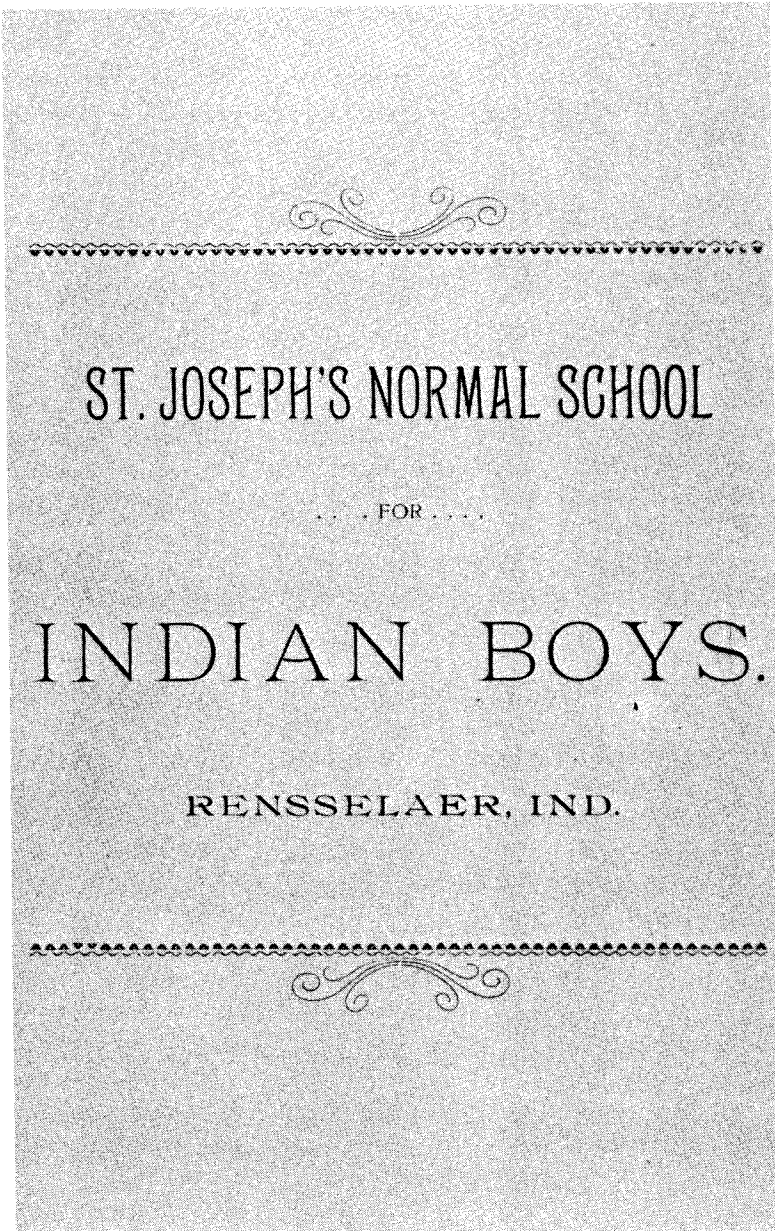
⁴⁹ Stephan to John H. Oberly, commissioner of Indian Affairs, October 30, 1888.

⁵⁰ B. Florian Hahn to *Nuntius Aulæ*, I (January, 1890), 27-32.

⁵¹ George Willard to William A. Day, second auditor, April 19, 1889, copy.

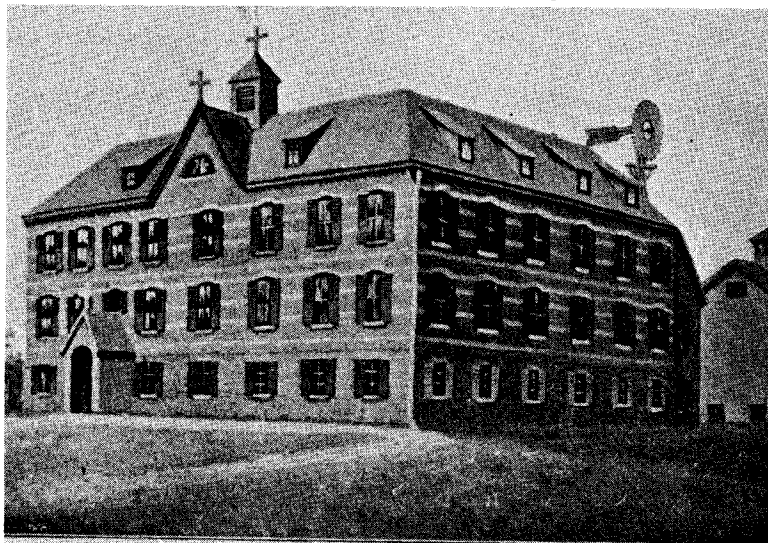
⁵² B. Florian Hahn to Stephan, July 3, 1890.

⁵³ Francis Schalk to Daniel M. Browning, December 31, 1894.

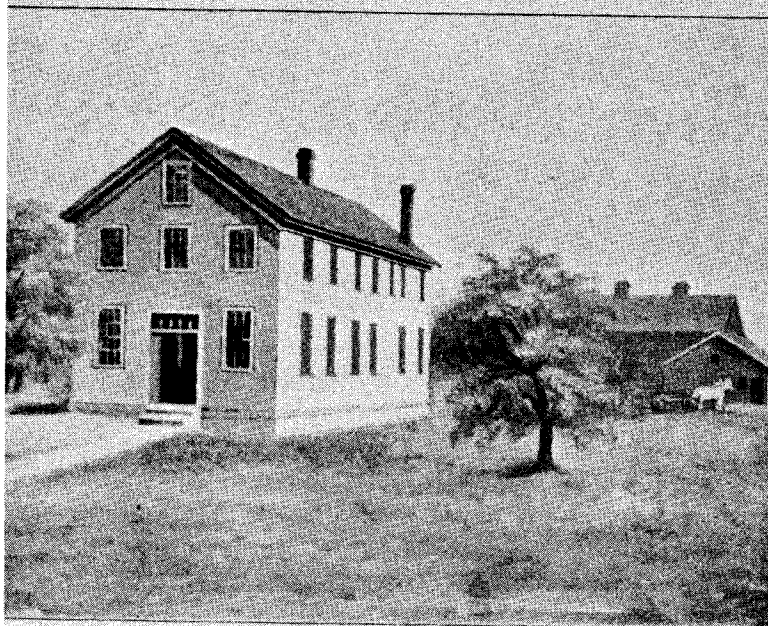


PRINTED LEAFLET ADVERTISING ST. JOSEPH'S
INDIAN NORMAL SCHOOL
PAGE 1

Courtesy Archives of St. Joseph's College, Rensselaer.



MAIN BUILDING.



SHOPS.

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INDIAN NORMAL SCHOOL
PAGE 2

Courtesy Archives of St. Joseph's College, Rensselaer.

Course of Instruction.



FIRST GRADE:

I. CLASS, PRIMARY.

Charts; First Reader: numbers; slate exercises.

II. CLASS

Second and Third Reader; spelling; writing; arithmetic: notation, addition, subtraction, multiplication, division.

SECOND GRADE:

I. CLASS.

Fourth Reader; spelling; writing; arithmetic: compound numbers, common and decimal fractions; geography; U. S. history; grammar; dictation.

II. CLASS.

Fifth Reader; spelling; writing; arithmetic: percentage, interest etc., to ratio and proportion exclusive; geography; U. S. history; grammar and composition; physiology; civics; letter-writing.

THIRD GRADE:

I. CLASS.

Sixth Reader; spelling; composition and letter-writing; arithmetic: ratio and proportion to mensuration inclusive; geography; book-keeping; physiology and hygiene; drawing; civics; U. S. history complete.

II. CLASS.

McGuffey's Speaker; elocution; composition; higher arithmetic; physical geography; algebra; geometry; general history; latin *ad libitum*.

OBLIGATORY FOR ALL:

Singing; religious instruction and drill exercises.

AD LIBITUM:

Playing on the organ; guitar; violin etc.

**PRINTED LEAFLET ADVERTISING ST. JOSEPH'S
INDIAN NORMAL SCHOOL
PAGE 3**

Industries Taught: Shoemaking, blacksmithing, carpentering, harness-making, tailoring, gardening and farming.

Daily Exercises in school and in the shops; sufficient outdoor-recreation.

Spacious Schoolrooms, dining hall, dormitories etc. : in winter heated.

The St. Joseph's Normal School is an excellent school for Indian boys.

Rensselaer is situated 70 miles south of Chicago in the state of Indiana, on the Louisville, New Albany & Chicago R. R.

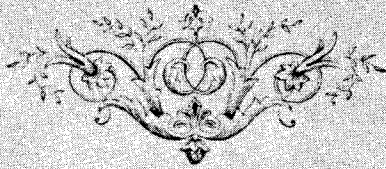
Indian Boys admitted into the school free of charge; tuition, clothing and boarding furnished to them.

Write for further information to

SUPERINTENDENT

St. Joseph's Indian Normal School,

RENSSELAER, IND.



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INDIAN NORMAL SCHOOL
PAGE 4

Courtesy Archives of St. Joseph's College, Rensselaer.

in other American schools. An undated printed folder describes the course of studies at St. Joseph's. The school was divided into three grades, and each grade was divided into a Class I and a Class II, thus making in reality six grades in all. The highest grade was taught "McGuffey's Speaker, elocution, composition, higher arithmetic, physical geography, algebra, geometry, general history and Latin *ad libitum*."⁵⁴ The textbooks employed in 1889-1890 were "Gilmour's National Series of Readers; Ray's Arithmetic; Hassard's U. S. History; Harvey's Grammar; Von Antwerp's Drawing; Bryant and Stratton's Book-keeping; Sadler's Geography; C. Townsend's Course of Civil Government; Cushing's Manual."⁵⁵

All the government inspectors rated St. Joseph's Indian pupils high academically. James M. Cooper, for example, reported: "many of them read well in the fourth and fifth readers, and a large percentage of them speak the English language quite plainly."⁵⁶ E. B. Reynolds noted that St. Joseph's was fortunate in that it brought together pupils from different tribes and thus forced them to employ English among themselves. Then he added:

I heard classes in the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th, 5th and 6th readers, in spelling, the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd classes in arithmetic and the 1st and 2nd classes in geography. In all these exercises there are marked evidence of progress, the reading as a rule was clear, distinct and intelligent, there being that absence of the timidity and reluctance to read out so one can hear, so characteristic of the Indian boy and girl, and which has sorely tried the patience of many a faithful teacher and the rock on which a good many have gone to pieces. I was much pleased with the knowledge and familiarity they manifested with their studies and also their general conduct in the school room.⁵⁷

Even C. W. Goodman, whose report was otherwise sharply critical, was duly impressed. "Notwithstanding the unfavorable appearance, upon careful examination of classes, they displayed considerable knowledge of geography, history and arithmetic, and ability to read well and reason, together with a very fair general knowledge. In these respects they are

⁵⁴ *St. Joseph's Normal School for Indians, Rensselaer, Indiana, Course of Instruction*. No date is given. Hahn, however, urged that such a pamphlet be printed. B. Florian Hahn to Stephan, July 10, 1890.

⁵⁵ Report of James A. Cooper to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, March 13, 1890, copy.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁷ Report of E. B. Reynolds to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, November 7, 1892.

much ahead of pupils of many Catholic schools. Very good work is also done in penmanship and drawing."⁵⁸ When Saint Joseph's College opened its doors in 1891, Gietl sent four of his Indian pupils to college, three of whom continued for a second year there.⁵⁹ The physical equipment of St. Joseph's Indian Normal was by present standards minimal. There were the usual benches and desks, blackboards, wall maps, and a few extra books in a small reading room. A reed organ seems to have been the only musical instrument besides the drums used for drill exercises.⁶⁰ The school year closed with a public examination to which people from the neighborhood and, if possible, some celebrity might be invited to witness what the school had accomplished.⁶¹

The industrial training program included farming, the care of animals, gardening, shoemaking, carpentering, and tailoring. A blacksmith shop was erected in the third year.⁶² Skills in these trades were acquired informally by on the job training under the school employee in charge. The inspectors had little to say about this part of the training program. Catholic Indian schools were considered on the whole to be weak in industrial training,⁶³ but St. Joseph's apparently satisfied the government's standards. It was reported that one of the Sioux Indians could "make a wagon complete, cutting the oak from the forest, and fashioning the parts from the logs."⁶⁴ Both written reports and interviews, however, give the impression that much of the work performed by the

⁵⁸ Report of C. W. Goodman to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, January 4, 1893.

⁵⁹ They were Louis Marion, Roderic Marion, and Joseph F. Rolette from North Dakota and Ernest Oshkosh from Wisconsin. The latter was listed only for the first year. Roster of students in *Saint Joseph's College Catalog* (Rensselaer, Indiana, 1891-1892, 1892-1893). These four Indian pupils were sent to the college specifically to begin preparatory studies for the priesthood. Andrew Gietl to P. L. Chapelle, vice president, Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions, September 4, 1891. They are not, however, listed in the grade reports. No records have been located as to how they were accepted by the white students other than the admiration expressed for their athletic prowess.

⁶⁰ Report of C. W. Goodman to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, January 4, 1893.

⁶¹ Report of B. Florian Hahn to Stephan, June, 1889.

⁶² Report of E. B. Reynolds to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, January 5, 1891.

⁶³ Daniel Dorchester, "Government Schools and Contract Schools," *Lend a Hand*, X (February, 1893), 125.

⁶⁴ Report of C. W. Goodman to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, March 13, 1890.

Indians was routine chores like chopping wood, milking cows, washing dishes, and such seasonal unskilled labor as hoeing weeds, harvesting potatoes, stacking hay, and shucking corn, much of which was done in work gangs.⁶⁵ One thing is certain; work in some form was required of all. One inspector observed that the boys "seem to expect to work and are doing more manual labor than in any other Catholic school of my acquaintance."⁶⁶ All likewise agreed that the Indians intensely disliked work. They would loaf on the job as soon as the supervisor turned his back, and Hahn observed that the requirement to work more than anything else was the basis for most forms of dissatisfactions and runaways. "If only they would take to work like they do to play, they would soon be the most advanced people in the whole world!"⁶⁷

Christianity and patriotism were synonymous with civilization and received high priority. Instructors drilled the Indians in the principles of the Catholic faith in much the same way as white children were taught. St. Joseph's pupils used the same book (catechism) and had the same religious services as were used in white schools.⁶⁸ They not only attended Mass and prayed together every day but even learned the difficult Latin texts.⁶⁹ Patriotism was almost equally important. Hahn reported: "Whenever an opportunity is offered we speak to the Indian pupils of the glories of our grand republic; we learned and sang with them patriotic national songs; celebrated the legal holidays by keeping solemn services, ringing the large bell, distributing presents

⁶⁵ Interviews with Conrad Kellner and Moses Leopold of Rensselaer, summer, 1969. Both men were already in their midteens at the time St. Joseph's was established. They came by the Indian school frequently but saw it only from the outside. Their testimony, however, is impressively consistent with the written reports. Incidentally, another long time resident of Rensselaer, Bess Hardy Parkison, reported that several Indian boys boarded and worked at the county "Poor Farm." They were exchanged every few weeks for other Indian boys from St. Joseph's. Parkison's father was superintendent of the "Poor Farm," and she recalls that she and her brother ate and played with these Indians and enjoyed their company. Bess Hardy Parkison to the Rensselaer *Republican*, May 14, 1971. This could have been a modified form of the "outing system" practiced at Carlisle where, however, Indians lived for longer periods of time with white families. Adams, *American Indian Education*, 52.

⁶⁶ Report of C. W. Goodman to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, March 13, 1890.

⁶⁷ B. Florian Hahn to *Nuntius Aulæ*, I (January, 1890), 29.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

⁶⁹ Henry Drees to Joseph Schaeper, Rome, Italy, September 1, 1890, copy.

among them and drawing their attention to the patriotism, which we, the citizens of the United States should have and manifest."⁷⁰ Patriotism was a standard theme for English composition,⁷¹ and a government inspector noted that at St. Joseph's "their rendition of 'My Country Tis of Thee' and 'Hail Columbia' was inspiriting and had the swing of victory about it!"⁷²

Another important part of the Indians' training was practical hygiene and acceptable social manners. To teach them to wash, dress, groom, and eat with knife and fork required patience and time.⁷³ Often they had never worn close fitting clothes before. It was disconcerting to issue fresh, clean clothes only to have them worn through the nearest mudhole and to change bed sheets only to have them wetted again.⁷⁴ It is no wonder that every inspector took careful note on how well the dormitories were ventilated. Cleanliness of body and clothing received a satisfactory report only once in four inspections!⁷⁵ One inspector was horrified to find that the Indians bathed only once a month during the winter. Each pupil had three sets of clothing, one ready made for Sundays and two outfits made in the school's tailor shop for weekdays.⁷⁶ Underwear was changed once a week. In response to criticisms from the Indian Bureau the superintendents pleaded for understanding because of the difficulty in getting the Indians to change from their old habits.⁷⁷

Related to practical hygiene was indoctrination against the evils of smoking and drinking. No evidence has been found that the Indian students ever got hold of liquor.⁷⁸

⁷⁰ Report of B. Florian Hahn to Stephan, June, 1889.

⁷¹ "Die Indianerschule," *Illinois Staats-Zeitung*, June 26, 1893 (Newberry Library, Chicago).

⁷² Report of E. B. Reynolds to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, November 7, 1892.

⁷³ Herman Fehrenbach, "The Home of the Messenger," *The Messenger*, XXV (October, 1919), 336. As soon as St. Joseph's Indian Normal was closed, the office and printing facilities of *The Messenger* moved in. Fehrenbach, or "Brother Herman," as he was known, was employed at the *Messenger* offices at St. Joseph's from at least 1900. Some of the employees of the Indian school stayed on at the school site, and Gietl himself returned and lived there until his death in 1915.

⁷⁴ Andrew Gietl to Office of Indian Affairs, February 20, 1893.

⁷⁵ Report of E. B. Reynolds to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, January 5, 1891.

⁷⁶ Report of C. W. Goodman to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, March 13, 1890.

⁷⁷ B. Florian Hahn to Stephan, March 24, 1890.

⁷⁸ Interview with Conrad Kellner.

People in the vicinity ordinarily understood the gravity of the offense of offering the Indians alcoholic beverages. The ban on smoking, however, was observed somewhat casually. As one man related: "A prof told them about the harmful effects of smoking and drew pictures of the affected lungs on the blackboard. In consequence they threw away their pipes. Of course, this put restrictions on the profs. One day an Indian boy saw the same teacher smoke in his room. When he reported this, one of them said, 'He smoke, no sin; we smoke, sin; haw!' The pipes were retrieved."⁷⁹

The Indians also had to learn to live by the white man's clock. The following order of the day speaks for itself:

Rising at 5:30 A.M. Morning prayers at 6 A.M. Then breakfast. After this the Indian boys had to do the chores, viz., washing of dishes, carrying water and wood, sweeping, feeding stock, and milking. At 8:30 A.M. till 11:30 regularly teaching and studying with 15 minutes recess at 10 A.M. 11:30 dinner, after this chores as in the morning. At 1 till 2 P.M. general work for all pupils. From 1 till 5 o'clock one half of the pupils worked (alternately) in the different shops and on the farm. The other half had lessons in reading, writing, drawing, etc. from 2 till 4 and 5 till 6 o'clock. Between 5 and 6 P.M. again chores and after supper at 6 P.M. Then recess till 7 o'clock P.M. From 7 to 8 P.M. study or singing; at 8 P.M. night prayers and retiring.⁸⁰

Finally, there was a happy note—athletics and recreation. There was no fancy equipment, but the Indians performed remarkably well, especially in the earlier years when there were a number of older lads among them. The Indian school quickly fielded a baseball team that successfully challenged all the teams in the neighborhood including Saint Joseph's College.⁸¹ Rensselaer adopted them as its own team and called them the "Young Americans." On one occasion they became the subject of a spirited dispute called the "Battle of Yorkey's Run" that made the local headlines:

⁷⁹ Nicholas Greiwe, reminiscences about the earliest days at Saint Joseph's College, manuscript, c. 1942. Greiwe was a student at Saint Joseph's College, 1891-1896.

⁸⁰ Report of B. Florian Hahn to Stephan, August 12, 1890. Indications are that the discipline imposed on the Indian pupils was mild. In his report to the commissioner of Indian Affairs, James A. Cooper used the words "mild" and "persuasive." Report of James A. Cooper to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, March 13, 1890, copy. Hahn wrote that he had to be especially careful in disciplinary matters because the Indians were quick to resent punishment or even mere accusations and threats of punishment. Hahn to *Nuntius Aulae*, I (January, 1890), 29.

⁸¹ Greiwe, reminiscences.

The Young Americans of the Indian School, went to Remington last Thursday to play the return game of ball, the first of which had already been played and won by the Indians. . . . The game had hardly begun when some of the Remington hired players began kicking at the umpire's decisions. The outsiders joined in and made such a constant uproar that it was impossible for the game to proceed. Mr. E. P. Honan on the part of the Indians, began to expostulate with the kickers, but in a gentlemanly way, and was insulted and then attacked by a tough named Harrington. In the excitement of the moment quite a number of bystanders then interfered, upon one side or the other, and for a little while it looked as though a general and bloody free fight would ensue. The exertions of cooler heads however soon quieted the trouble, without any very serious results. The Indian boys left the grounds upon the beginning of the trouble, but later were prevailed upon to return and play out the game which resulted in their favor by a score of 18 for the Indians to 7 for the Remingtons.⁸²

The Indians excelled equally in individual contests at the county fair and Fourth of July celebrations. The local paper reported that St. Joseph's pupils ran away with over half the prizes. For example, at the Fourth of July celebration of 1891 Ernest Oshkosh took first prize in both the 100 yard dash that he performed in 11 seconds for a five dollar prize and the 500 yard race that he did in 78½ seconds for a fifteen dollar prize. The baseball club topped the day by winning the twenty-five dollar prize for beating a visiting team from nearby Monon fourteen to four.⁸³ Hahn thought "there must be some kind of electric current in their limbs." If they had nothing else to do they would just "scream out loud," "kick backwards and forwards like young colts," or just plain "roughhouse it here and there."⁸⁴ This together with occasional rabbit hunts and visits to the swimming hole in the nearby Iroquois River⁸⁵ helped to make life bearable between long, dreary sessions of prayer, study, and work.

Another relief from the exertions of "civilized" life came when the Indian boys were permitted to make native costumes and perform native dances. This was not approved in official circles,⁸⁶ but it served the threefold purpose of pleasing the

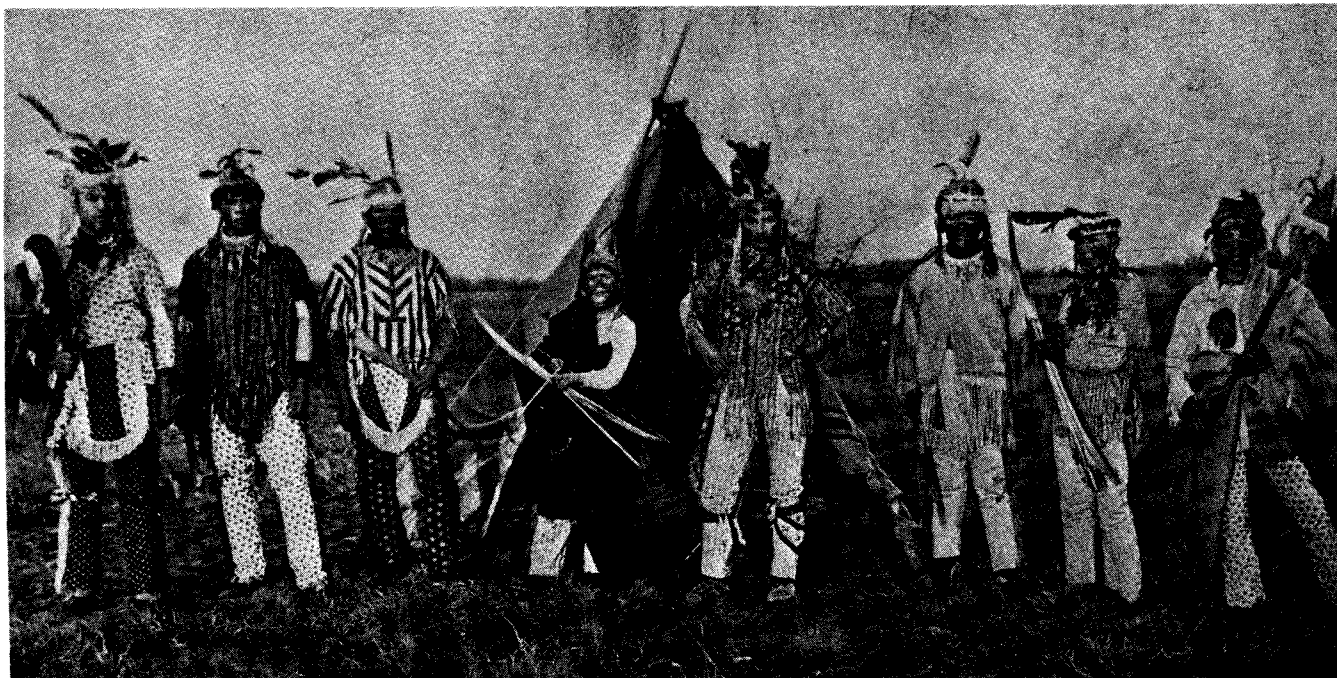
⁸² Rensselaer *Republican*, June 25, 1891. The newspaper added that the real reason for the fracas was drinking and betting on the game. A somewhat crudely fashioned woodcut in the paper illustrated the "battle" as chiefly fought with fists and umbrellas.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, July 9, 1891.

⁸⁴ B. Florian Hahn to *Nuntius Aulæ*, I (January, 1890), 29.

⁸⁵ Interview with Ralph Donnelly, Rensselaer, May 1, 1971.

⁸⁶ Even the use of Indian languages in school was forbidden. *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs* (1886), U. S., House Execu-



SEVERAL INDIAN PUPILS IN THEIR NATIVE DRESS

Courtesy Archives of St. Joseph's College, Rensselaer.

Indians, amusing curious onlookers, and gaining some revenue. Such a performance was staged during the first year on the eve of the Fourth of July, 1889, in the Rensselaer Opera House.⁸⁷ The first part of the presentation showed how well the Indians had already mastered the ways of "civilization" by presenting speeches, dialogues, and patriotic songs. But

the second part of the program was by far the most interesting. The performers were all dressed in the full war costumes of their savage ancestors, with feathers and war paint and gorgeous and many colored raiment. Their costumes were made by the young men, themselves, and were faithful copies of genuine wild Indian costumes. The different items of this part of the performance consisted of a Pow Wow dance; a Scalp Dance; a dance at the execution of an enemy; a Council of War, with War Harangues and War Dance; a Dance over the wounded; a representation, with dance, of the first Peace Meeting of the Chippewas and Sioux Indians; Blessing of Meals and a Dog Head dance, and four very fine tableaux representing Indian life: The Wigwam, The Council, an Execution and Penn's Treaty with the Indians.⁸⁸

Other performances, possibly not as elaborate, were held for the benefit of the neighboring college students. One student recalls how one of the Indian boys would leave the ring of dancers to charge into the audience and pretend that he was after a white man's scalp. Bows and arrows were sold as souvenirs for a few pennies.⁸⁹

The Indian school was by no means a paradise for its intended beneficiaries. Although there were no outright rebellions nor any known act of serious misbehavior, protest was often expressed simply by running home. This was the one major problem at the school:

The greatest drawback of the institution arises from the great distance from the Indian homeland, for there are no parents who hang with greater tenderness to their children than these Indian fathers and mothers, and a forced separation appears to them to be a fearful thing. Since this mutual dependence rests on purely natural instinct, it is useless to fight against it with rational arguments or higher motives. If the mother wants her child again—it must by all means be done. There is no alternative. Likewise if the child longs for its parents again—no appeal to reason will help. He follows his irrepressible tendency—he runs

tive Document No. 1, Part 5, 49 Cong., 2 Sess., 1886-1887 (serial 2467), xxiii.

⁸⁷ The site of the old opera house is now occupied by the J. C. Penny store in Rensselaer. Interview with Conrad Kellner.

⁸⁸ "Indian School Entertainment," *Rensselaer Republican*, July 4, 1889.

⁸⁹ Greiwe, reminiscences.

away and does not return. Such cases occur every year, and it is this which makes success impossible and almost makes the educators despair apart from the considerable expense of bringing the pupils in from such a distance. This view is shared by schoolmen who have spent their entire lives in the education of the Indian youth.⁹⁰

Hahn, when still new at his job, was dismayed at this phenomenon and declared that he had been as kind and understanding as humanly possible. Sometimes boys whom he least suspected of being dissatisfied ran away.⁹¹ One day they were eager to go to school; the next day they wanted to go home.⁹² The first days at the school were particularly difficult. For example, to have to cut off their long, black hair was an experience the Indians objected to "most strenuously . . . for it made them look like the white man and they imagined that this was a sign that they would never be allowed to return home again."⁹³ At times the doors and shutters were locked, and recreation was limited to the confines of the school's tiny interior courtyard.⁹⁴ An easier method of barring escape occurred to Hahn when he decided to check the issuance of clothing, especially overcoats, more carefully. If the coats had to be turned in each night, the boys would not dare venture out so easily, especially in winter.⁹⁵ During the second year two teachers were detailed to stay in the pupils' dormitory at nights to prevent escape.⁹⁶ Running away was surely a daring undertaking so many miles away from home. One poor lad lost his life when he fell under the wheels of a train.⁹⁷ At other times running home proved difficult for the Indian boys, and they returned to the school scared and hungry.⁹⁸

⁹⁰ Andrew Gietl to *Nuntius Aulæ*, III (April, 1892), 66.

⁹¹ B. Florian Hahn to George Willard, n.d. (September, 1889?).

⁹² B. Florian Hahn to Stephan, July 3, 1890. This letter, written at the end of the second school year, requested permission to send home eight pupils: three because the parents requested it, one because he wanted to go to work, one who had sore eyes, one because of homesickness, one because his close friend was leaving, and one for "reason unknown."

⁹³ Heldmann, "History of St. Joseph's Indian Normal School of Rensselaer, Indiana," 300-301.

⁹⁴ Interview with Mrs. Frances Nagel, Rensselaer, who was a close friend of Andrew Gietl, summer, 1969.

⁹⁵ B. Florian Hahn to Stephan, March 24, 1890.

⁹⁶ Report of B. Florian Hahn to Stephan, August 12, 1890.

⁹⁷ Charles S. Kelsey, United States Indian agent, to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, September 24, 1891.

⁹⁸ Rensselaer *Republican*, October 24, 1889. In 1890 Superintendent Hahn wrote Stephan that in the preceding year, 1889-1890, he had chased after runaways twelve times but always got them back again. B. Florian Hahn to Stephan, March 24, 1890. Special agent Cooper reported to the

The superintendents were constantly pestered with petitions to return home. Either there was a death or serious illness in the family, or the father became incapacitated and needed the son to help support the family.⁹⁹ Gietl once sent seven boys home at one time just because of homesickness.¹⁰⁰ At other times there were misunderstandings as to how many years a boy was required to remain at the school. In any case, if the Indian student really wanted permission to go home—for example, when he felt that he had enough schooling and was old enough to take out a land claim and start a farm of his own—the school ordinarily did not prevent him.¹⁰¹ As Hahn remarked on one occasion: "They have done well regarding their behavior and learning, but think now, they could help themselves. It is too risky, to begin a new term with them."¹⁰²

Occasionally a lad displayed more than average ingenuity in devising a way to get home. Aware of friction between Protestants and Catholics, one lad ran into town and reported to one of the ministers that he was a Protestant and was being held at the Catholic Indian school against his will and was forced to attend religious services.¹⁰³ Another pleaded cruelty. He sneaked out letters which so alarmed his parents that his father wrote Gietl and threatened him physical harm if he

commissioner of Indian Affairs that during this same time period "16 ran off and returned to their reservations." James A. Cooper to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, March 13, 1890, copy.

⁹⁹ For example, see sample letter from François Morin, St. John, Turtle Mountain, Dakota Territory, to his son, Tobie Morin, at the Indian school at Rensselaer, February 18, 1889. "We are all well, thanks be to God. But now I begin to be quite lame of my left leg from a wound I got while hunting buffalo some 30 years ago. I beg of Father Willard to send you to me in the beginning of April, so as to help me in my putting in my seeds; otherwise I am not able to do it alone, and I have no means to hire any help"

¹⁰⁰ Rensselaer *Republican*, September 17, 1891.

¹⁰¹ P. L. Chapelle, Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions, to Andrew Gietl, June 4, 1891.

¹⁰² B. Florian Hahn to Stephan, July 26, 1890. There were exceptions, however, to those pupils who wanted to leave St. Joseph's. "Thomas Davison a young Indian lately discharged from the Indian school [at Rensselaer] and sent to Port Washington, Wisconsin, has returned to Rensselaer walking the entire distance. His last day's journey being from Hammond to Rensselaer [about 50 miles], which he claims to have walked within nine hours. He also claims to have walked the entire journey within six days. He thinks walking is a much cheaper mode of travel than by rail as his trip cost him less than one dollar." Rensselaer *Republican*, April 13, 1893.

¹⁰³ I. I. Gorby, T. F. Drake, and L. E. Connor, Rensselaer clergymen, to Daniel Dorchester, December 9, 1890.

would not let his poor boy come home immediately.¹⁰⁴ Both problems were resolved apparently with due regard for the rights of the individual. The first lad signed a statement before the minister that he had lied,¹⁰⁵ and the second one owned up to his trickery in the presence of a government inspector.¹⁰⁶

Student attrition whether by runaways or by permission was so serious that it must have jeopardized the very purpose of the school. The plan was to have the pupils remain at St. Joseph's for five years, but only six out of the first group of fifty remained that long.¹⁰⁷ There is no evidence to indicate that any of the others completed the allotted time. Although reports of runaways declined after 1893 with the enrollment of younger pupils, the average annual turnover remained just below fifty per cent!¹⁰⁸

It is difficult to ascertain how much racial prejudice existed in Rensselaer against the Indians. The local paper reported that when the Indian school held open house some of the white boys spat on the floor and threw rocks at the Indians.¹⁰⁹ Some people in the vicinity warned their children to stay inside at nights and lock all the doors "just in case."¹¹⁰ Derogatory terms such as "bucks" and "injuns" appeared in the newspaper.¹¹¹ But for the most part the public seems to have been more or less amused at these strange creatures. On Saturdays the Indians were allowed to come to town but did so in groups and did not fraternize with the whites.¹¹²

¹⁰⁴ Andrew Gietl to Office of Indian Affairs, January 2, 1893.

¹⁰⁵ I. I. Gorby to Indian Department, December 26, 1890, copy.

¹⁰⁶ Fred Baumgartner and Sylvester Hinen, affidavit, Rensselaer, January 2, 1893.

¹⁰⁷ Andrew Gietl to Office of Indian Affairs, May 20, 1893. The six "graduates" were Louis Marion, Roderic Marion, and Joseph Rolette from Turtle Mountain, North Dakota, and Situp Goodfeather, George Wearsahoan, and John Bain of Standing Rock, North Dakota.

¹⁰⁸ Hahn states this explicitly for the first two years. Report of B. Florian Hahn to Stephan, August 12, 1890. That the turnover remained high for the following years is inferred from the high number of new pupils requested each summer. At least a substantial number of the Indians returned home for vacation during the summer months of July and August. Transportation costs had to be borne by the parents or by the school. B. Florian Hahn to George Willard, July, 1889; Francis Schalk to Katharine Drexel, June 14, 1895.

¹⁰⁹ Rensselaer *Republican*, September 20, 1888.

¹¹⁰ Interview with Conrad Kellner.

¹¹¹ Rensselaer *Republican*, September 19, 1889; January 29, 1891.

¹¹² Interview with Moses Leopold. As St. Joseph's was a Catholic boarding school in a predominantly Protestant neighborhood, segregation

In general, all evidence indicates that the Indians behaved well. At most they indulged in pilfering a few goodies to eat.¹¹³ Only once, as far as is known, did any legal authorities come to St. Joseph's. Because jewelry had been stolen from a visiting Indian troupe in town, the sheriff came to the Indian school to question certain suspects, but nothing came of the incident because of lack of evidence.¹¹⁴ The students of Saint Joseph's College, who were the nearest to them, called them "quite harmless" and got along with them well.¹¹⁵ If there was any anxiety at all, it might have been on the part of the Indians. When a series of mysterious breakins occurred at night at the Indian school, Hahn reported that the Indians were so scared that they refused to go out after dark!¹¹⁶

The most serious problem that beset the Indian school derived from its relations with the government. When the school opened in September, 1888, Grover Cleveland was still President, and Stephan was encouraged by the mood that prevailed in his administration.¹¹⁷ Only two months later, however, Benjamin Harrison was elected President, and he appointed two men to top posts in the Indian service who took a dim view of all contract schools. They were Thomas J. Morgan, a Baptist clergyman, appointed commissioner of Indian affairs, and Dr. Daniel Dorchester, a Methodist clergyman, appointed superintendent of Indian education. Their stated opposition to contract schools rested largely on the principle of separation of church and state.¹¹⁸ Their concern was, of course, heightened by Stephan's singular success in expanding the number of Catholic contract schools. Protestants meanwhile had begun to disassociate themselves from these schools and favored the use of government schools

may have been as much due to school policy as to the people's reaction to the Indians.

¹¹³ While one boy diverted the attention of a farmer with some antic, his partner raided the cellar for a couple of apples or the henhouse for a couple of eggs. Greiwe, reminiscences.

¹¹⁴ Rensselaer *Republican*, September 19, 1889; B. Florian Hahn to George Willard, September 22, 1889.

¹¹⁵ Greiwe, reminiscences.

¹¹⁶ Rensselaer *Republican*, October 10, 1889.

¹¹⁷ Stephan to Katharine Drexel, December 8, 1887.

¹¹⁸ *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs* (1892), 56-57. Daniel Dorchester would countenance denominational contract schools provided they would teach generally acceptable Christian principles rather than sectarian doctrines as did most of the Catholic schools. Dorchester, "Government Schools and Contract Schools," 118-26.

exclusively.¹¹⁹ Although it proved to be a losing battle, Stephan fought Morgan every step of the way.¹²⁰ What aroused Stephan's indignation was the fact that the administration of government schools was in reality monopolized by Protestant personnel, that clergymen were frequently hired to direct them, and that public funds were regularly used to purchase Bibles and hymnals to be used in them.¹²¹ The point here, however, is not to judge the merits of the case between Morgan and Stephan but to show how it affected the school at Rensselaer, which was a center of attention.

Difficulties at St. Joseph's Indian Normal commenced shortly after Morgan took office. In April, 1889, he threatened to withhold contract payment for the nine overage pupils that Stephan had entered by special permission of the previous commissioner.¹²² In July Morgan demanded to know why St. Joseph's was getting \$125 per pupil rather than the \$108 that prevailed at most contract schools on the reservations.¹²³ By November Hahn was complaining that the government was delaying contract payments by as much as six months.¹²⁴ In the following year, March, 1890, a special agent was sent to report on conditions at St. Joseph's. He found the clothing provided for the Indians to be inadequate.¹²⁵ Hahn admitted there was some truth to the criticism, but he was more disturbed by the tone of the directives that kept coming from Morgan. "If the Hon. Indian Comm. does not desist from his new 'conditions,' then I am hardly able to

¹¹⁹ See footnotes 3 and 8. By 1892 the contract schools were denounced on constitutional grounds. It should be remembered, however, that prominent Protestant denominations had provided the original stimulus for Grant's Indian Peace Policy. Catholics had played no part in this, nor were they invited to serve on the supervisory Board of Indian Commissioners that represented the missionary societies. Fritz, *The Movement for Indian Assimilation, 1860-1890*, 56-86.

¹²⁰ An extended account of the friction between Stephan and Thomas J. Morgan is given in Harry J. Sievers, "The Catholic Indian School Issue and the Presidential Election of 1892," *The Catholic Historical Review*, XXXVIII (July, 1952), 129-55.

¹²¹ Purchases of Bibles and hymnals for government schools were recorded yearly in the *Annual Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*. For example, the report for 1893 listed an order for 675 medium sized Bibles and eleven dozen gospel hymnals, pp. 1193-94.

¹²² George Willard to William A. Day, second auditor, April 19, 1889.

¹²³ Other private schools in the East were meanwhile receiving up to \$167 per pupil. Stephan asked for \$150. Stephan to Senator William B. Allison, chairman of Committee on Appropriations, June 23, 1890.

¹²⁴ B. Florian Hahn to *Nuntius Aulæ*, I (January, 1890), 30.

¹²⁵ Report of James A. Cooper to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, March 13, 1890, copy.

continue," he wrote to Stephan.¹²⁶ In the same month there appeared the first complaint that the government was not fully reimbursing the school for its traveling expenses.¹²⁷

Meanwhile, to prevent Morgan from striking St. Joseph's from the contract list, Stephan approached Congress to have the Rensselaer school provided for by name in the annual appropriation bill for Indian education. If this were done, Morgan would have to renew the contract whether he wanted to or not.¹²⁸ Stephan not only got his demand but had the number of contract pupils for St. Joseph's raised from fifty to sixty and the subsidy from \$125 to nearly \$139.¹²⁹ It is interesting to read Stephan's sentiments over the victory accorded him by the House of Representatives as expressed in a letter to Drexel:

The Morgans and Dorchesters will not find much encouragement when they read these records. Our aim, for a long time, has been to educate congress up to a recognition of the Mission schools as part of the Indian school system; and you will observe from the remarks of chairman [Congressmen Joseph G.] Perkins [Ill.], [Benjamin F.] Shively [Ind.], [Bishop W.] Cannon [Kan.], and others—we have succeeded. The most remarkable thing about it is not *one* could be *found* to endorse the policy of Morgan in striking [*sic*] at such schools. Making special appropriations for Rensselaer, Banning and the Holy Familie [*sic*] (not Holy Trinity) is notice to the commissioner that such schools are not to be discouraged. . . . It was a big undertaking to unite this sentiment against the expressed policy of the administration, and success under the circumstances, is almost a legislative miracle. We had to work and move, like Napoleon across the Alps in winter time. . . . Thank God for his mercy to disperse the destructive storm when we thought all was lost,—to gain all and save our dear little Indians.¹³⁰

Trouble broke out again the following year, July, 1891, when amid bitter recriminations Morgan broke all relations with the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions and demanded that each Catholic school deal with his office independently.¹³¹

¹²⁶ B. Florian Hahn to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, March 24, 1890; B. Florian Hahn to Stephan, May 11, 1890.

¹²⁷ P. L. Chapelle to Thomas J. Morgan, March 13, 1890, copy.

¹²⁸ Stephan to Senator William B. Allison, chairman of Committee on Appropriations, June 23, 1890.

¹²⁹ Stephan to B. Florian Hahn, July 19, 1890.

¹³⁰ Stephan to Katharine Drexel, June 19, 1890, U. S., *Congressional Record*, 51 Cong., 1 Sess., 6238.

¹³¹ Thomas J. Morgan to P. L. Chapelle, July 1, 1891, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs* (1891), U. S., *House Executive Document* No. 1, Part 5, 52 Cong., 1 Sess., 1891-1892 (serial 2934), 161-64.

Stephan finally advised Gietl to cooperate in this.¹³² Gietl, who entertained hopes for a time that things might improve, was accused a month later of removing pupils illegally from a Wisconsin reservation.¹³³ And his problems regarding reimbursement for travel expenses did not improve:

After the Indian Office had allowed my claims and expenses for transporting a number of Indian boys to this school last August, the second auditor found all kinds of discrepancies, though he has a subvoucher or receipt for every item expended: why there was a team needed; why such expenses were required, etc. The escorts brought the children and I had to pay the expenses they incurred as they were all reasonable to my judgment. Besides the Second Comptroller made a mistake in subtraction as you will notice of \$100 Now surely I could not lose over \$500.00 all of which I had paid. I have sent him a full explanation as to the above facts. In case he unreasonably refuses to pay, what step will be open to me? Refer once more to the Indian Office? Or instruct our Congressman Hon. [David H.] Patton of Ind.? Or apply to the Congress for special allowance? I wish you could instruct me if there be any way or possibility open, to obtain what by right belongs to me, it may be that he does not want to understand some expenses.¹³⁴

Indicative of the bad feeling between St. Joseph's and some government officials is an episode in 1892 when one of Dorchester's men came to inspect the school. C. W. Goodman's report was strongly critical in contrast with the report made just six weeks earlier by the regular government inspector that "the terms of the contract . . . [were] being fully carried out."¹³⁵ Goodman found the bedding "dirty" and the classrooms with their "disgraceful old benches" "undecorated" and "cheerless." He wrote: "The boys sit or lounge about the house with their caps on, enter and leave the dining and school rooms in a very disorderly manner." (He quarreled with Gietl over the comparative merits of walking single file or double file.¹³⁶) "Their clothing is often torn and never looks neat." He added: "Their speech and composition partake of the mistakes and peculiarities of their German instructors." He did not overlook the use of "Catholic" readers,

¹³² Andrew Gietl to Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions, August 5, 1891.

¹³³ Charles S. Kelsey, United States Indian agent, Green Bay Agency, Keshena, Wisconsin, to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, September 2, 1891.

¹³⁴ Andrew Gietl to Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions, March 1, 1892.

¹³⁵ Report of E. B. Reynolds to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, November 7, 1892.

¹³⁶ Andrew Gietl to Office of Indian Affairs, February 20, 1893.

"Catholic" history books, and the "catechism."¹³⁷ Gietl's reply to the Office of Indian Affairs was not only a vigorous denial of all these accusations but also questioned Goodman's competence and integrity. After denouncing "insinuations" that the Indians adored pictures in the classroom, he concluded: "It is natural with some to find fault with everything, especially if they suffer and are guided by inborn prejudice against everything that savors religious sectarianism."¹³⁸

Despite these difficulties St. Joseph's was granted a moment of glory when the Bureau of Indian Affairs invited the school to be on display at the Columbian Exposition in Chicago in 1893.¹³⁹ Gietl took along thirty pupils with several staff members and from June 13 to 30 displayed to curious crowds how much "civilization" his pupils had achieved in contrast to their elders, some of whom were encamped in tepees a short distance from the school. A sympathetic eyewitness described how the Indian pupils presented

written compositions, drawings, iron and wood products from the shop, new and repaired shoes, homemade articles of clothing—in short, everything that a redskin would be able to do. In addition they made clothing, shoes and articles of wood in the workrooms and did recitations and problems, etc. in the classroom, all in front of a mob of curious visitors. Every day the afternoon session opened with a half hour of music and song when another crowd filled the room.¹⁴⁰

Yet even here there were signs of trouble. The custodian reported that some visitors were disturbed to see a Catholic school occupy the United States School Building,¹⁴¹ and Dor-

¹³⁷ Report of C. W. Goodman to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, January 4, 1893.

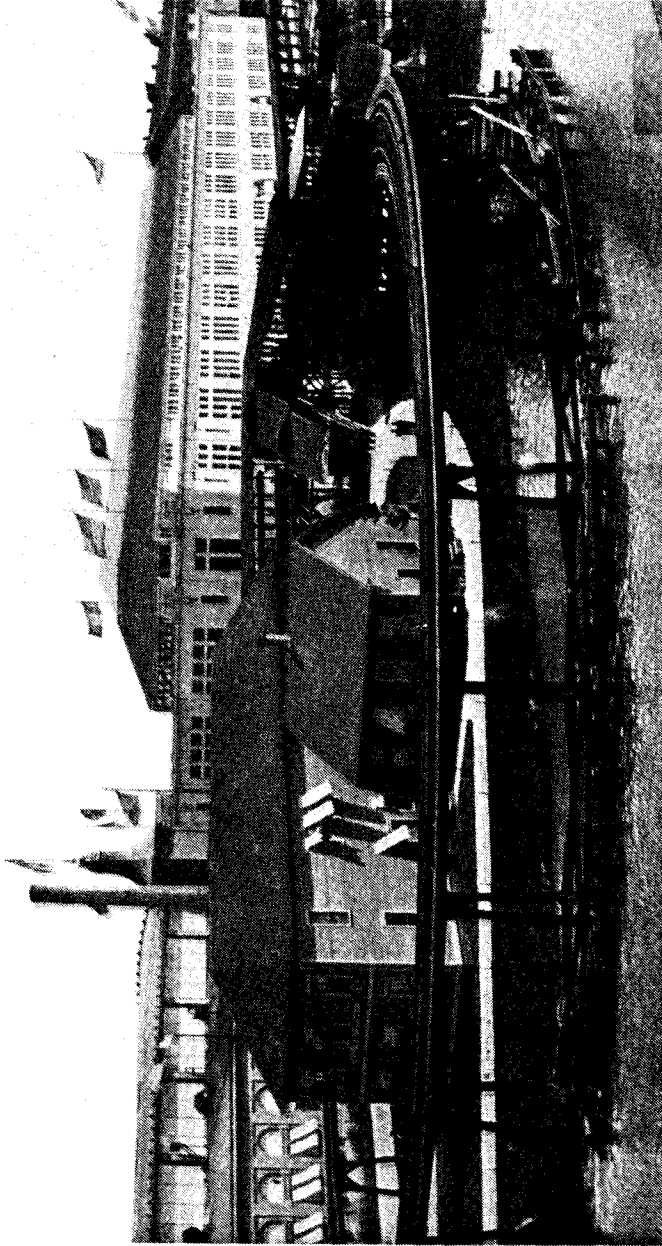
¹³⁸ Andrew Gietl to Office of Indian Affairs, February 20, 1893. Gietl also accused Goodman of snooping through the Sisters' wardrobes, but Goodman denied this. C. W. Goodman to Office of Indian Affairs, March 9, 1893.

¹³⁹ *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs* (1893), U. S., *House Executive Document* No. 1, Part 5, 53 Cong., 1 Sess., 1893-1894 (serial 3210), 20-22. St. Joseph's was the second in a series of eight Indian schools to participate in the Columbian Exposition. The only other contract school was Lincoln Institute of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. St. Joseph's had to pay its own expenses. Stephan to Andrew Gietl, June 17, 1892.

¹⁴⁰ Paulinus Trost to *Nuntius Aulæ*, IV (September, 1893), 26.

¹⁴¹ S. B. Whittington, superintendent and custodian of the Indian School Building, to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, n.d. Whittington's report read as follows:

Supt. [Andrew] Gietl of Renssalaer [*sic*], Ind. school departed on yesterday in good shape in every way and he expressed himself as pleased with his stay here. They left the U. S. Indian School Building in good, clean, condition by the departing school. They



UNITED STATES INDIAN SCHOOL BUILDING
COLUMBIAN EXPOSITION IN CHICAGO, 1893

Courtesy Chicago Public Library.

chester expressed regret that St. Joseph's had been encouraged to take part in the exhibit at all because it gave the public the impression that the government was not really doing much at all for the education of the Indian.¹⁴²

By 1895 the fate of St. Joseph's Indian Normal School was sealed. The powerful anti-Catholic American Protective Association had directed its attention to the contract schools and put pressure on congressmen to abolish them.¹⁴³ Hahn charged that even the twenty-five to thirty Catholics in Congress had become cowards in hiding.¹⁴⁴ On May 18, 1895, Daniel M. Browning, the new commissioner of Indian Affairs, notified the Rensselaer school that its contract would not be renewed because Congress had reduced appropriations for contract schools. Browning had eliminated St. Joseph's because of its distance (transportation costs) from the reservations.¹⁴⁵

Stephan, however, renewed his efforts for the Rensselaer school. On August 2, 1895, his secretary, Charles S. Lusk, appealed to Secretary of the Interior Hoke Smith. Lusk made a special point of the fact that an earlier administration had

seemed to take spical [*sic*] pains to do this. Their party consisted of thirty Indian pupils boys, one industrial teacher, one school teacher, two working girls and assistant [*sic*] cooks, one cook, one matron, and the Superintendent. A party of thirty seven people. They seemed to be well quartered and I heard no complaint on that score.

I think the impression, as a whole, was very good. Some visitors seemed to be disturbed when they found that it was a Catholic school occupying the U. S. School Building, etc. A good number of Catholic priests visited the school (more than had heretofore) and as they usually came in groups it aroused [*sic*] the suspicion of a visitor once in a while. As I said in answer to yours of June 22nd one lady seemed to object to the Indian dances Supt. Andrew Gietl permitted on a few occasions. Taking it all in all I think it will prove that a great deal [*sic*] of good has been done to the Indian Service by the visit of the Rensselaer [*sic*] school.

¹⁴² *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs* (1893), 394.

¹⁴³ When in 1894 the House of Representatives passed the appropriation bill that allowed continued use of money for contract schools, those who voted for the bill "were immediately put on the APA 'black-list' of Congressmen to be defeated as agents of the papacy." Donald L. Kinzer, *An Episode in Anti-Catholicism: The American Protective Association* (Seattle, 1964), 137. Another author states that the APA "made a major issue of government support of Indian mission schools, and it called upon every Protestant denomination and every participating mission board to renounce and condemn the practice." Beaver, *Church, State, and the American Indians*, 166.

¹⁴⁴ B. Florian Hahn to *Nuntius Aulæ*, VI (October, 1895), 98.

¹⁴⁵ Thomas P. Smith, acting commissioner, to Francis Schalk, Rensselaer, May 27, 1895.

encouraged the Catholic bureau to go ahead and invest \$50,000 in a school at Rensselaer; now the entire venture would suddenly have to be junked. He tried to explain that Congress had not intended to exclude a contract just because it failed to mention St. Joseph's by name again. And if Browning refused St. Joseph's a contract because of its distance from reservations, why then did he renew contracts with the Hampton Institute in Hampton, Virginia, and the Lincoln Institute in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, which were even farther away? Browning informed Secretary Smith that the contract money had all been committed, and nothing could be done unless some other school should cancel its contract voluntarily.¹⁴⁶ On August 26 Stephan appealed to Senators Daniel W. Voorhees and David Turpie of Indiana to speak for the school in their state. He reminded them that the senators from Pennsylvania and Virginia had done the same for the Indian schools in their respective states where the same ministers, the same religious services, and the same religious instruction continued as before.¹⁴⁷

On September 3, 1895, St. Joseph's again obtained permission to collect forty Indian pupils, but all expenses now had to be borne by the school.¹⁴⁸ Part of the lost subsidy was made up by Drexel when she paid \$800 for travel expenses¹⁴⁹ and later on an additional \$1,500 "for the support of the Rensselaer school."¹⁵⁰ By the end of the year all hopes for further government assistance had vanished. The school was closed, and the pupils were sent back to their homes by the summer of 1896.¹⁵¹

The blame for St. Joseph's failure was placed on the anti-Catholic forces that had succeeded in depriving the school of

¹⁴⁶ Charles Lusk to Hoke Smith, August 2, 1895, copy; Daniel M. Browning, commissioner of Indian Affairs, to Hoke Smith, August 9, 1895, copy.

¹⁴⁷ Stephan to Daniel W. Voorhees and David Turpie, August 26, 1895, copy. Turpie had already written in behalf of the Rensselaer school. David Turpie to Hoke Smith, secretary of the Interior, August 23, 1895.

¹⁴⁸ Daniel M. Browning to Stephan, September 3, 1895.

¹⁴⁹ John F. Cogan, "The Indian School," *The St. Joseph's Collegian*, II (September, 1895), 10. *The Collegian* was an early student publication of Saint Joseph's College.

¹⁵⁰ Theopistus Wittmer, Carthagenia, Ohio, to Katharine Drexel, receipt, March 25, 1896.

¹⁵¹ Charles Lusk to Martin Marty, August 13, 1896. In 1937 the main building of the Indian school was remodeled and joined Saint Joseph's College as a student residence hall. It was then renamed Drexel Hall.

the funds needed to operate.¹⁵² This is not the entire story, however, for the Catholic schools on the reservations continued to function even without contract funds.¹⁵³ What emerges is the strong likelihood that just as important as the lack of a government contract was the fact that the goals set by Stephan for the school simply did not materialize. He had built St. Joseph's in order to train older and better "scholars" in a five year program so that they could be returned to the reservations to teach others the ways of the white man, i.e., the Catholic white man. But with an annual pupil turnover of nearly fifty per cent and the Indians' "irrepressible tendency" to run away, not many could have completed the five years. Moreover, the average age level of the pupils declined until St. Joseph's was finally settling for many who "knew absolutely nothing, not even the first things of civilized life" when they arrived.¹⁵⁴ Even with the incentive of contract money the school seemingly could no longer be kept filled after the fifth year. Perhaps even greater than the problem of religious conflict was the problem of the Indian's resistance to the kind of schooling offered by St. Joseph's no matter whether it was Protestant or Catholic.

¹⁵² Superintendent Francis Schalk was willing to continue the school provided funds would come from some other source. Francis Schalk to Katharine Drexel, June 14, 1895; Francis Schalk to the Most Reverend P. J. Ryan, Philadelphia, July 25, 1895.

¹⁵³ John B. Tenny, "American Indian Missions (U.S.)," *New Catholic Encyclopedia* (15 vols., New York, 1967), I, 406. Tenny is present director of the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions.

¹⁵⁴ Heldmann, "History of St. Joseph's Indian Normal School of Rensselaer, Indiana," 265. When the school opened in 1888, twelve of the first group of fifty pupils were over eighteen. Stephan to John H. Oberly, October 30, 1888. Six years later only one of sixty-seven was over eighteen, and the ages ranged from six to eighteen with thirteen being the median age. Francis Schalk to Daniel M. Browning, December 31, 1894.